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THE STATE OF THE NATION.—

In an arbitrary government, the power of the despot rallies the public force to any particular point at any moment he pleases; because that power is military, and his control over his subjects is absolute. The case is different in a free republic, where the people constitute the national strength: In the latter, it is necessary to convince the popular mind of the correct views and honest intentions of the rulers, before the government can engage the citizens to support its measures. In the one case, it is abject obedience: In the other, the force of conviction on the mind. This, indeed, is the leading distinction between the subjects of a despotism and the citizens of a free government. The will of the first is coerced by the mandate of a master; whilst the will of the latter is directed by its own reason.

But this difference, which exhibits on the one hand the degradation of human nature, and on the other the exaltation of its dignity; gives to arbitrary governments a facility in their operations which rarely attends the actions of such as are essentially free. Sovereigns who possess supreme power command, and they are obeyed: The executive of a republic must argue and convince before he can persuade. The first may sway an empire with a word: The last must produce indisputable facts and travel through all the forms of logic to attain the necessary influence over the public mind.

The deductions to be drawn from this discrimination, establish, beyond the possibility of refutation, this con-

clusion: That to maintain an efficient influence, to be able to direct the public force to a proper object, it is not only necessary for the executive of a free republic to possess clear perceptions and a sound judgment, together with suitable abilities for applying abstract principles to practical concerns; but it is absolutely requisite that he should cherish in his heart no passion but what he might, without the fear of reproach, display to the world in defiance of envy or malice.

Before the agency of the press in political concerns became so universal, intriguing men had often effected the most sinister views in republics under the plausible semblance of patriotism. At this æra of time however, emphatically marked as it is by the unbounded discussion of the public concerns in print, and the rigid scrutiny of character to which all men are subjected, who seek for office or have attained one; neither the profound hypocrisy that distinguished Augustus Cæsar, nor the double and over-reaching cunning that marked the conduct of Oliver Cromwell, could beguile an enlightened people of their rights; or induce them to assent to a weak or servile policy, injurious or degrading to the nation.

Purity of heart and pre-eminent talents must belong to that chief magistrate, who would wield the democracy of a country, and be the *Man of the People* in a free government, in an age like the present: And when the people and their first magistrate go hand in hand, it is at once a proof of *their* confidence and approbation, and of *his* virtue and abilities.

Judging of the United States by

this standard, what a noble, cheering view does it exhibit ! How glorious for the executive ! How exalted for the people ! I will attempt to portray the prospect—to show how a great man, in a perilous hour, may, by the operations of mind, rally the public force to the support of his counsels ; and how those counsels entering into each man's heart, may become, by his own consent, the single rule of his conduct.

Looking back to the year 1801, we find Mr. Jefferson ascending the presidential seat amidst the virulence of party spirit : His ascent was marked by the loud congratulations of his admirers, and by the bitter criminations of his adversaries. The firm texture of his character was proof equally against the blandishments of flattery as it was against the assaults of detraction. He selected his cabinet ministers with discriminating skill, from among the long tried friends of liberty. Their labors, their talents, have supported him in the most trying scenes of his administration ; and it is no mean praise for Mr. Jefferson, nor a poor compliment for his secretaries, that he has not repented his first choice nor dismissed from his confidence a head of department. Acquainted with the true interests of his country, he saw that peace promoted their advancement, that whilst commerce should be unshackled by restrictive laws that create monopolies, the soil ought to be exempted from a weight of taxation which went to the extirpation of agriculture or the impoverishment of the landholder ; that the smallest possible military and naval force only in a time of tranquility should be preserved ; that the expenditure of money by the government should be reduced as much as possible ; and above all, in order to esta-

lish the credit of the nation upon a stable basis, that the discharge of the public debt as speedily as possible was indispensably necessary. Accordingly, arrangements were made to compass these objects : The president pointed them out, and the national legislature carried them into effect.

It was a risk of no small importance for the chief magistrate to take on himself the responsibility of these changes in the system of the government, and his enemies were not remiss in seizing the opportunity which the experiment offered, to affright the citizens by prognostications of inevitable disgrace and utter ruin. To this they were urged by a double motive ; the hope of regaining power and the necessity of justifying their own conduct. The ambition to seize once more upon the reins of government was strong ; but what piercing heart-aches, what palpitating anxieties, were they oppressed with, when they beheld in the salutary reforms of their successors, the seal of reprobation put upon the leading features of their policy, recorded, deposited in the archives of the nation, and about to be handed down to an impartial posterity !

But neither the efforts of verbal or epistolary invective ; nor yet the more potent productions of the press, could disturb the repose of a mind that was bottomed on a pure conscience. Inquiry, like a burnisher, served only to brighten the excellence of the executive in the popular estimation ; and whilst misrepresentation excited partial clamor and momentary disaffection, an effect was produced which the authors of it did not foresee. Discussion was provoked by accusation ; the measures of the administration came fairly before

the people; the merits of its policy became better understood; those who advocated, yet doubted, were confirmed; those who opposed were staggered; faith succeeded to opinion; and hesitation to vindictive hostility. The president of the United States, amidst the flames of personal slander and political anathema, came forth, like the victims of Nebuchadnezzar's wrath, unhurt by the fiery ordeal, with a character more shining, more admirable—commanding and awful to his accusers; who like the "mighty men" of the tyrant of Babylon, were destroyed by the impetuous fires which they had caused to blaze at the evil suggestions of the foulest passions of their own hearts.

When the black quiver of private calumny had been exhausted of its poisoned arrows in vain; when the whole artillery of the press had battered the ramparts of the administration for four years without making an impression; when all the artifices and all the force of predatory and regular political warfare had been essayed; and the enemy had failed in his attempts as well by stratagem as by storm; Mr. Jefferson entered upon his second official term with a splendor unrivalled; with unprecedented glory, whose rays, emanating from the uncorrupted minds of his fellow-citizens, shone full upon him, adding to the brilliancy of a character always precious, ever inestimably valuable. One hundred and sixty two to fourteen electoral votes proclaimed him to the world as the favorite of the nation.

And how did he attain this exalted elevation in the public estimation? The answer is simple and impressive:

With foreign nations he had cultivated harmony: His talents had

been exemplified in the ability with which he had carried his principles into practice: The sincerity of his professions had been tested and approved by the liquidation of a considerable portion of the public debt: A rigid economy had been exercised over the expenditure of public monies: The treasury was full: Public justice enforced: The public peace preserved: Population encouraged and increased: The national wealth and resources multiplied by the spring given to national industry: A distant frontier fortified by the purchase of Louisiana, and the obedience and fidelity of its inhabitants confirmed by the jurisdiction obtained over a river whose free navigation is secured to them forever: The president's house at all times open to his reputable fellow-citizens of all classes, whose confidence was invited by the most respectful and decorous affability on his part: Mysteriousness in the execution of the public business laid aside: The ridiculous forms with which the weakness of pride in power generally endeavors to fortify itself were rejected; and Mr. Jefferson stood before the nation in all the dignity and grandeur of human reason properly regulated. Familiarity with him could not degenerate into disrespect for his mind or person: His wisdom corrected frivolity: His demeanor terrified impertinence. His heart was open for the inspection of his countrymen, who approached but to love him; who contemplated but to reverence him.

This is the outline in one view. The detail would make a volume.

In March, 1805, Mr. Jefferson commenced his second term of presidential service. This period was peculiarly designated by the expiration of Aaron Burr's official duties as

Vice-President of the United States. I will not dwell upon the wily intrigues, the daring designs of this acquitted culprit : They were detected and exposed, penetrated and thwarted, by the vigilance of the executive and the firmness of the commander in chief of the army. In that dismal hour, when pale fear blanched the cheeks of the timid citizen ; when treason ; bold, barbarous, bloody treason ; merciless in its conceptions and horrible in its intended execution ; roamed through the nation from the Hudson to the Mississippi, menacing the Union with dismemberment, the laws with prostration, and the executive and representatives of the people with death ; when the general alarm excited by these detestable schemes was increased by the fastidious eloquence of an apostate orator in congress, and the plans of the traitors were encouraged and countenanced by the collateral aid of the opposition presses ;—Mr. Jefferson exhibited a promptness that astonished, and a vigor that confounded his foes : The bullying charge of pussillanimity in the executive, was changed into the whining cant of affected moderation, and exclamations of trembling fearfulness lest the president should exercise an energy and rigor beyond the law. The conspiracy was crushed ; the leading characters of it arrested and brought to trial ; and if they have escaped the punishment they merit, it has been through the forms of the law, too flimsy for the punishment of great criminals ; or from other causes beyond the control of executive authority. This treasonable enterprize, so ferocious in its aspect ; so distant and varied in scenery ; and by far the most formidable that has ever threatened this government ; was effectually counteracted without that pomp

of war, that call to arms, which was considered necessary by two former presidents, to dissipate two local commotions, or riotous assemblages, or petty tumults, in the state of Pennsylvania.

This conduct of the chief magistrate displayed a feature in his character hitherto concealed. The people saw that he was competent to any crisis, however menacing ; equal to any danger, however pressing. They had tried him for six years, and on no occasion found him wanting to himself or deficient to the duties of his high station : They perceived that he was their friend ; that he acted solely for their good ; that he always consulted their welfare, and even their wishes : Convinced of his purity, they became penetrated with the propriety of his views, with the justice of his policy ; they recognized his sentiments as their own, and enforced his precepts by example. The outrage on the Chesapeake occurred, and the popular spirit was in a blaze : The long train of foreign aggressions was afresh called up to the mind by the fatal deed of the twenty-second of June : A sentiment of confidence in the administration, of indignation against the perpetrators of the act, rung through the continent. The executive in this emergency directed the spirit of the nation by rules of the most excellent wisdom : The interdicting proclamation was issued against British ships of war ; a dispatch vessel was sent off to Europe to demand reparation and redress ; Congress was convened to perform their part on the great occasion ; and the popular ideas being infused into their minds they came to the Capitol prepared to clothe the measures of the executive with the authority of law, and to identify by their acts the coin-

cidence between the sentiments of the people and those of their chief ruler. The congress assembled; the message of the president, breathing the resolution of fortitude and the feelings of benevolence, was communicated to them: The budget of the secretary of the finances was opened, displaying a surplus of eight millions of dollars in the treasury at the service of the government, with facilities for instantaneously raising from the banks forty millions more: The national legislature proceeded to perform its duty: Acts were passed or bills introduced to provide for exterior combat and internal defence. An embargo was recommended and laid on, with trivial opposition: A requisition and classification of the militia proposed and acted upon; and an inquiry instituted into the best means of securing for the benefit of the republic the services of our seamen.

Meanwhile, addresses of confidence and resolutions of co-operation, poured in from the state legislatures and bodies of patriotic citizens, in support of the measures of the national government. The general conduct of the executive, and, in striking instances, the embargo in particular, have been applauded during the current session of congress, by Rhode-Island, Vermont, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, and Ohio: The approbation of Massachusetts had been previously and formally expressed: The spirit is still progressing; and as opportunities by legislative meetings occur, the same animating course will unquestionably be pursued by all the states in the Union. The chief magistrate has collected round the government the whole energies of the nation. Let the sword be once

drawn, and the operations of the executive will be rapid as the velocity of light and decisive as the fiat of fate.

This is the picture. In one glance behold the executive established in the confidence of the people; wielding the democracy of the country by the influence of rational counsels, with the same facility and with more resistless force than a monarch does his soldiers by the debasing control of despotic power; with all the elements of a formidable army and enterprizing marine at disposal, to be converted as occasion may demand into an offensive or defensive force for the welfare of the republic. It remains for foreign powers to say, whether, with these advantages on our side, they will encounter and contend with us. The blood of the nation is warm. The counsels of the cabinet alone restrains it within its wonted channels; and immutable justice is for us: Unfurl but the banners of hostility, and a hundred thousand warriors will spring to arms; a thousand privateers and ships of war will cover the ocean: Woe to the columns of that foreign army which debarks on our shores—Destruction to that commerce which falls within the range of our adventurous, enterprizing mariners!

THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF.—
(continued from page 27.)—The following is the Message which the President transmitted to Congress on the 20th inst. in reply to their resolutions of inquiry relative to gen. Wilkinson, &c.

To the house of representatives of the United States.

Some days previous to your resolutions of the thirteenth instant, a court of inquiry had been instituted,

at the request of general Wilkinson, charged to make the inquiry into his conduct which the first resolution desires, and had commenced their proceedings. To the judge advocate of that court the papers and information on that subject, transmitted to me by the house of representatives, have been delivered to be used according to the rules and powers of that court.

The request of a communication of any information which may have been received, at any time since the establishment of the present government, touching combinations with foreign agents for dismembering the union, or the corrupt receipt of money by any officer of the United S. from the agents of foreign governments, can be complied with but in a partial degree.

It is well understood that in the first or second year of the presidency of general Washington, information was given to him relating to certain combinations with the agents of a foreign government, for the dismemberment of the union; which combinations had taken place before the establishment of the present federal government. This information, however, is believed never to have been deposited in any public office, or left in that of the president's secretary; these having been duly examined: but to have been considered as personally confidential, and therefore retained among his private papers. A communication from the governor of Virginia to president Washington, is found in the office of the president's secretary, which although not strictly within the terms of the request of the house of representatives, is communicated, inasmuch as it may throw some light on the subjects of the correspondence of that time, between certain foreign agents and citizens of the United States.

In the first or second year of the administration of president Adams, Andrew Ellicott, then employed in designating, in conjunction with the Spanish authorities, the boundaries between the territories of the United States and of Spain, under the treaty with that nation, communicated to the executive of the United States, papers and information respecting the subjects of the present inquiry, which were deposited in the office of state. Copies of these are now transmitted to the house of representatives, except of a single letter and a reference from the said Andrew Ellicott, which being expressly desired to be kept secret, is therefore not communicated: but its contents can be obtained from himself in a more legal form; and directions have been given to summon him to appear as a witness before the court of inquiry.

A paper 'on the commerce of Louisiana,' bearing date the eighteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight, is found in the office of state, supposed to have been communicated by Mr. Daniel Clark, of New-Orleans, then a subject of Spain, and now of the house of representatives of the United States, stating certain commercial transactions of general Wilkinson in New-Orleans: an extract from this is now communicated, because it contains facts which may have some bearing on the questions relating to him.

The destruction of the war office by fire, in the close of one thousand eight hundred, involved all information it contained at that date.

The papers already described, therefore, constitute the whole of the information on these subjects, deposited in the public offices, during the preceding administrations, as far as has yet been found: but it cannot be affirmed that there may be no other,

because the papers of the offices being filed, for the most part, alphabetically, unless aided by the suggestion of any particular name which may have given such information, nothing short of a careful examination of the papers in the offices generally could authorize such an affirmation.

About a twelvemonth after I came to the administration of the government, Mr. Clark gave some verbal information to myself, as well as to the secretary of state, relating to the same combinations for the dismemberment of the union. He was listened to freely; and he then delivered the letter of governor Gayoso addressed to himself, of which a copy is now communicated. After his return to New Orleans he forwarded to the secretary of state other papers with a request that after perusal they should be burnt. This however was not done: and he was so informed by the secretary of state, and that they would be held subject to his orders. These papers have not yet been found in the office. A letter therefore has been addressed to the former chief clerk, who may perhaps give information respecting them. As far as our memories enable us to say, they related only to the combinations before spoken of, and not at all to the corrupt receipt of money by any officer of the United States: consequently they respected what was considered as a dead matter, known to the preceding administrations, and offering nothing new to call for investigations, which those nearest the dates of the transactions had not thought proper to institute.

In the course of the communications made to me on the subject of the conspiracy of Aaron Burr, I sometimes received letters, some of them anonymous, some under names

true or false, expressing suspicions and insinuations against general Wilkinson. But one only of them, and that anonymous, specified any particular fact, and that fact was one of those which had been already communicated to a former administration.

No other information within the purview of the request of the house, is known to have been received, by any department of the government, from the establishment of the present federal government. That which has been recently communicated to the house of representatives, and by them to me, is the first direct testimony ever made known to me, charging general Wilkinson with a corrupt receipt of money: and the house of representatives may be assured that the duties which this information devolves on me shall be exercised with rigorous impartiality. Should any want of power in the court to compel the rendering of testimony obstruct that full and impartial inquiry which alone can establish guilt or innocence, and satisfy justice, the legislative authority only will be competent to the remedy.

TH: JEFFERSON.

January 20, 1808.

FOREIGN COINS.—The following documents relative to the value of foreign coins are deemed worthy of preservation:

REPORT.

The secretary of the treasury, in obedience to the directions of the act entitled "An act regulating the currency of the foreign coins in the United States,"

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That assays of the foreign gold and silver coins made current by the act aforesaid, have been made at the mint of the U. States; the result whereof

will appear by the letter of the director of the mint dated 24th December, 1807 and herewith transmitted.

That it may be thence inferred,

1. That the gold coins of Great Britain and Portugal, the French crowns and Spanish milled dollars have not, by the act aforesaid, been rated above their intrinsic value.

2. That, although the gold coins of France and Spain have, by the act, been rated at the rate of one hundred cents, for every 27 grains and 2-5 of a grain of the weight thereof; 27 grains and 2-5 of a grain of the gold coins of France, are worth only 99 cents and 3-4 of a cent; and 27 grains and 2-5 of a grain of the gold coins of Spain are worth only 95 cents and 3-4 of a cent.

3. That although the parts of a Spanish milled dollar have, by the act, been rated at the rate of 100 cents for every 17 pennyweights and 7 grains of the weight thereof; that weight in pistareens or 5ths of a dollar coined prior to the year 1738, is worth only 99 cents, and in pistareens coined subsequent to the year 1773, is worth only 90 cents and one tenth of a cent.

4. That the crowns of France and the parts thereof have, by the act been rated at the rate of 110 cents,

for every 18 pennyweights and 17 grains thereof; but that that weight in five francs pieces, (and it is understood that all the other modern silver coins of France, are of the same standard) is worth only 108 cents and 3-5 of a cent,

And that in order to reduce those several descriptions of foreign coins to their true value, according to the assays lately made, it would seem proper that they should hereafter pass current at the following rates, viz:

Gold coins of France at the rate of 100 cents for every 27 grains and one half of a grain of the actual weight thereof.

Gold coins of Spain and the dominions of Spain, at the rate of 100 cents for every 28 grains and 5-3 of a grain of the actual weight thereof.

Spanish pistareens at the rate of one hundred cents for every nineteen pennyweights and five grains of the actual weight thereof.

Five francs pieces of France, at the rate of 93 cents for every sixteen pennyweights of the actual weight thereof and in proportion for subdivisions of five francs pieces.

All which is respectfully submitted,
ALBERT GALLATIN.

Treasury Department, Jan- }
nuary 14, 1808. }

(COPY.)

Mint of the United States, December 24, 1807.

SIR,

Agreeably to your desire I have caused assays to be made of the various species of foreign gold and silver coins, (as far as could be procured) required by the act of congress, passed the 18th of April, 1806, the result of which, according to the assayer's report, is as follows:

I. GOLD COINS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

No. 1. Made from 7 pieces of dates prior to 1806,

Car. Grs.

22 0

2. Made from 7 do. of the year 1806,

22 0

None of 1807 could be procured.

II. GOLD COINS OF PORTUGAL.

Made from 10 pieces of dates prior to 1806,

22 0

None of subsequent dates could be procured.

III. GOLD COINS OF FRANCE.

No. 1. Made from 3 pieces of Lewis XV.	21	2
2. Made from 3 do. of Lewis XVI.	21	2 1-2
3. Made from 2 twenty-five francs pieces of the years 12 and 13,	21	2 1-2
4. Made from 3 do. of the year 1806,	21	2 1-2
<i>None of the year 1807 could be procured.</i>		

IV. GOLD COINS OF SPAIN.

No. 1. Made from 10 pieces of dates prior to 1806,	20	3 1-2
2. Made from 5 ditto of the year 1806,	20	2 3-4
3. Made from 3 ditto of the year 1807,	20	3 1-4

V. SILVER COINS OF FRANCE.

	Oz. dwts. grs.		
No. 1. Made from 5 crowns of Louis XVI.	10	19	12
2. Made from 3 five francs pieces of the years 5, 6, & 8,	10	15	12
<i>None of subsequent dates could be procured.</i>			

VI. SILVER COINS OF SPAIN.

No. 1. Made from 3 dollars of dates prior to 1806,	10	15	0
2. Made from 2 do. of the year 1806,	10	15	6
3. Made from 2 do. of the year 1807,	10	15	0
4. Made from five pistareens of dates between 1708 and 1737,	10	12	18
5. Made from five ditto or 5ths of a dollar of dates between 1773 and 1778,	9	13	12

From the above report it may be inferred,

1. That the gold coins of Great Britain and of Portugal being of the same quality or standard with those of the United States, are by the act of congress rated at their true intrinsic value of twenty-seven grains to one hundred cents.

2. That all the other gold coins have been rated above their intrinsic values. For comparing them with the standard of the gold coins of the U. States, the following will be the results.

Gold coins of France being 21 car. 2 1-2 grs. fine, 27 81-173 grs. or 27 468-1000 will be equal in value to one hundred cents, and gold coins of Spain, averaging about 20 car. 3 grs. fine 28 52-83 grs. or 28 636-1000 will equal one hundred cents; whereas by act of congress, 27 2-7 grs. or 27 480-1000 both of the French and Spanish gold coins are made equal in value to 100 cents.

It may, however, be observed that all foreign gold coins have now nearly ceased to circulate as a currency in the United States. Deposits of these are still, indeed, frequently made in our banks, but are thence either sent to the mint for coinage, or re-issued for the purpose of exportation.

3. That the French crowns and Spanish milled dollars have not been over-rated, but in fact, if of full weight, would exceed their legal value by a small fraction of a cent.

4. That of the French five francs pieces, the quality being inferior to that of the French crowns, 18 dwts. 17 grs. instead of 110 cents, (the legal value of a French crown of that weight,) would be in value only 108 cents 6 mills.

5. That of the Spanish pistareens or 5th of a dollar, 17 dwts. 7 grs. of those 10 oz. 12 dwts. 18 grs. fine, would only be worth 99 cents 1 mill; and of those of 9 oz. 13 dwts. 12 grs. no more than 90 cents 1 mill, whereas by law, a Spanish dollar of the above weight, (and in proportion for the parts of a dollar,) is valued at 100 cents.

I have the honor to be,

With sentiments of the greatest respect and esteem,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

R. PATTERSON,

The honorable ALBERT GALLATIN, }
Secretary of the Treasury.

CONVENTION.

City of Washington, Saturday,
January 23d, 1808.

In pursuance of notice given to the republican representatives of each House of Congress, the number of eighty-nine members convened in the Senate Chamber at half past six o'clock, P. M. STEPHEN R. BRADLEY was appointed President, and RICHARD M. JOHNSON Secretary.

The meeting proceeded to recommend persons to the citizens of the United States to fill the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. The ballot being taken first upon a recommendation for the office of PRESIDENT—John Milledge and Joseph B. Varnum being appointed tellers—the votes were as follow :

For James Madison	83
For George Clinton	3
For James Munroe	3

The ballot being then taken upon the recommendation for VICE-PRESIDENT, the votes were as follow :

For George Clinton	79
For John Langdon	5
For Henry Dearborn	3
For John Q. Adams	1

Upon motion of Wilson C. Nicholas, a Committee of Correspondence and Arrangement was appointed in case of the death or resignation of

the persons recommended; to consist of the following persons, viz.

Mr. Milledge, of Georgia: Mr. Taylor, of South-Carolina: Mr. Franklin, of North-Carolina: Mr. Giles, of Virginia: Mr. John Montgomery, of Maryland: Mr. Smilie, of Pennsylvania: Mr. Kitchel, of New-Jersey: Mr. Kirkpatrick, of New-York: Mr. Howland, of Rhode-Island: Mr. Varnum, of Massachusetts: Mr. Parker, of New-Hampshire: Mr. Bradley, of Vermont: Mr. Tiffin, of Ohio: Mr. Pope, of Kentucky: Mr. Anderson, of Tennessee.

On motion of Mr. Giles, the following resolution was adopted unanimously :

Resolved, As the sense of this meeting, that JAMES MADISON, of the state of Virginia, be recommended to the people of the U. S. as a proper person to fill the office of President of the U. S. for 4 years from the 4th of March, 1809; and that GEO. CLINTON, the present Vice President of the United States, of the state of New-York, be recommended as a proper person to fill the office of Vice President for the same term. That in making the foregoing recommendation, the members of h s meeting have acted only in their individual characters as citizens; that they have been induced to adopt this measure from the necessity of the case; from a deep conviction of the import-

ance of union to the Republics throughout all parts of the United S. in the present crisis of both our external and internal affairs: And as being the most practicable mode of consulting and respecting the wishes of all, upon a subject so truly interesting to the whole people of the U. States.

STEPHEN R. BRADLEY,
President.

RICHARD M. JOHNSON,
Secretary.

A letter from Lemuel Sawyer was read, stating that he was too unwell to attend the meeting, and constituting John Montgomery his proxy to vote in favor of James Madison for President and George Clinton for Vice-President. The proxy, however, would not be received.

THE CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT
—(continued from page 32.)—The objections that may be advanced against the mode of nominating a candidate for the Presidency, will but slightly conceal the views of any man. It is an ill-contrived political artifice, too frequently attempted and too often exposed, to effect a bias in the public judgment. The very terms in which the nominations of Saturday last were expressed, are sufficient to silence clamor; and those who continue to rail in the face of the most positive declarations, may justly be suspected of something less than a patriotic feeling on the occasion. The excess of men's passions frequently betrays their ungracious designs; for when the heart is agitated the head forgets its cunning. What, for example, shall we think of those writers who call an act unconstitutional which it is not pretended was exercised under constitutional authority? And who, affecting to stand upon the broad basis of popular nomination,

deny to a portion of their fellow citizens a right which they claim for themselves? In order to prove that the republican convention has done a thing repugnant to duty under the constitution, some evidence ought to be adduced that the gentlemen who composed it were convoked by color of law; or that they have attempted to render their decision obligatory upon the people. Flat, general assertions, without any foundation in fact, will have no weight with a sensible, judicious community. They will naturally suspect the man who indulges in all the vehemence of invective, without one solitary fact to support him.

Like others, I should have hoped that the discussion of this question would have been attended with decorum and magnanimity, did not experience teach me better. I have seen too much detraction of the best men in this country within a few years past, to suffer myself to be deluded by a desire which cannot be gratified. So long as the press is the vehicle of scurrility, we may expect that every peevish, creeping demagogue will find his way to it, in order to soothe his envy or vent his spleen. At the moment I am committing this page to the press, I find that the gentleman who convoked the convention is the subject of coarse ribaldry and indelicate censure in the public prints. General Bradley's candid, liberal manner, has been construed into a dictatorial tone; and the manly exercise of a task incidentally confided to him, is invidiously represented as an arrogant exercise of illegitimate authority.—The conscientious authors of these scrupulous interpretations are not well instructed: If they insist on the General's open audacity, they will destroy the plausibility of their charges

of intrigue; for the publicity of the one is inconsistent with the secrecy of the other. In tenderness to human nature we should not expect from all her children either reason or rhetoric: But those who set up for patriots ought at least to be consistent. I will not mingle in the conflict of paltry passions, so disgraceful to those who are their victims; nor, much as I respect the man, stop to vindicate the conduct of General Bradley. His behavior requires no justification: The disinterested integrity of his character is as little liable to suspicion as the patriotism of the brave *Mountaineers* whom he represents. I doubt whether even the scorching fervor of Mr. Masters' zeal would induce him to impeach it.

Allowing those who oppose the method of nomination by convention to be sincere in their hostility, will they inform the public by what other practicable mode unity of sentiment and co-operation among republicans would be insured? The legislatures of the individual states could not effect it, for they are not all at one time in session; and if they were, they would present a more spacious field for intrigue and corruption than the spontaneous assemblage of respectable citizens acting from the impulses of their own minds. Will a special delegation from all parts of the Union be recommended, to determine the question? The extent of the country, the commotion that such a measure would excite, the bias which interested men would be able to create in partial meetings of the citizens, distinctly mark it as a proceeding the most difficult and ineligible of any. It follows, then, that there is no other course than to leave to the people themselves the nomination. *This*

is precisely what has been done: Or, shall I be told that members of congress are no part of the people! I fear the unruly tempers of some men will occasion the early ruin of their friends. Who but must see, that it is not so much to the *mode* of nomination as to the *description of persons who nominate*; that objections are brought forward?

A thousand conventions might have met without reprobation, if they had been susceptible of sinister impressions from designing politicians. But a congregation of the representatives of the people, even in their capacity of private citizens, was an alarming incident to those who had particular ends to accomplish. Their intelligence abashed finesse, and their virtue repelled the approach of any degrading influence.

Who has a better opportunity of knowing the greatest and best men in this nation than the members of the congress, who are a constituent part of the government? And shall we deny to them the poor privilege of imparting that knowledge to their fellow citizens, who cannot arrive at the necessary information except through communication from others? And who should they confide in for correct impressions, if not in their own delegates, the men of their deliberate choice? Have the members of the national legislature no character to support, no reputation to lose, at home? Or have the people sent a herd of servile creatures to enact laws for them in whom they have no confidence, for whom they have no respect? I am speaking to the good sense of the nation. The puny cavils of petty declaimers are unworthy of notice.

After all, where is the crime? If the convention have endeavored to

impose upon the nation, the community at large will arrest the deception. I think too much of the good understandings of my fellow-citizens to believe that they will support any candidate, however strongly recommended, the history of whose life does not pourtray his worth—whose fame is not adorned by recorded honors.—The testimony of facts is conclusive. The public will judge of the claims of the man who is recommended to its favor. I proceed to the narrative.

MR. JAMES MADISON is a native of the county of Orange, in the state of Virginia. His family in all its branches are respectable, opulent, and independent. His father, colonel James Madison, was a man of great respectability; he provided handsomely for a large family, and to Mr. Madison, his oldest son, he gave a considerable estate, including his family seat.

Mr. Madison completed his education at Princeton College; where he was so much distinguished for his genius, application, acquirements, and amiable qualities, that he possessed the esteem and respect of the president, professors, and students of that seminary, in as high a degree, as any young man ever did.

Mr. Madison's first appearance in public life was in the year 1776. He was elected in the spring of that year a member of the convention of Virginia for his native county. By that convention the present government of Virginia was formed, and the delegates of Virginia were instructed in the month of May of that year, to vote in Congress for a Declaration of Independence. Mr. Madison, it is said, took no part in the business of that assembly, owing to his extreme diffidence. He was soon afterwards appointed a member of the executive

council of Virginia, and continued a member of that board until he was delegated to represent that commonwealth in the Congress which sat in the year 1779. During all this time it is not known that Mr. Madison ever made a public display of his abilities, and it is presumed he owed his advancement to the strong pledge that was made by some of our most distinguished citizens for his talents. Of that number Mr. Jefferson is believed to have been the first to distinguish and the most active to bring into his country's service the superior mind of Mr. Madison, whose diffidence and backwardness were such, that it is possible his services might have been lost to the nation, if the utmost efforts had not been made to draw him into the active exercise of his powers. It is believed by a gentleman who knew Mr. Madison well when he first went to Congress, that he would not in that body, small as it was, have been able to conquer his extreme embarrassment, if it had not been for the great pressure arising from the importance of the crisis, and his being sometimes associated with men who could not, without his aid, sustain the common burthen. From their first acquaintance to this moment, it is believed there has subsisted between Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison the utmost intimacy and confidence, founded upon mutual esteem and respect.

Mr. Madison continued in Congress until the latter part of the year 1783, when he became ineligible under the confederation, which limited the service of a member to three years. The ensuing year he was elected a member of the Virginia assembly. From the circumstance of Mr. Madison's having been educated out of the state, and his long

service in Congress, when he took his seat in the Virginia assembly he found himself almost a stranger: But the very high reputation he had acquired in Congress, gave him a place in the confidence of those who did not know his person. The period was deeply interesting. It began then to be understood that the union of the states must be lost, or the government new modelled. In that session Mr. Madison made some efforts to give to Congress resources to comply with the engagements of the nation. To the state the time was peculiarly important. The revision of their body of laws, so as to make them conform to republican principles, had been referred to commissioners, had been reported to the legislature four years before, and had remained unacted on. That work was now taken up, and was carried through principally by the efforts of Mr. Madison. And in particular the bill for religious freedom, which made a part of that work, was indebted mainly to his able and zealous advocacy, for its passage without any retrenchment of its liberal principles. Through all the interesting scenes of that session, Mr. Madison displayed such talents, integrity and patriotism, that at the end of that year there was no man who stood higher in the confidence and affections of all who knew him. In 1785 he was re-elected to the Virginia assembly. During the session of that year he proposed and carried through that body a recommendation that deputies should meet from all the states, at Annapolis, for the purpose of making some change in the confederation. It is known that this effort did not produce all the good effects expected from it; but it is likewise known, that the recommendation of that meeting caused the convocation of the convention at Philadelphia that gave us our present constitution. Mr. Madison was, it is believed, elected a member of that convention by the unanimous vote of the legislature. It is said in that body there was no member more distinguished for wisdom and love of country. About the same time Mr. Madison was re-elected a member of the old Congress. The evidence of the very able support given by him to this constitution is in print: Upon that subject the reader is referred to the Debates in the Virginia Convention. Mr. Madison was elected a member of the first House of Representatives that convened under the constitution. His services in that body during the eight years of the administration of General Washington are known to all. For several years before the establishment of this government and until the commencement of the war between France and England, there was no man in America in whom General Washington confided more than in Mr. Madison; and if he was afterwards less frequently consulted by him, it was owing to the ascendancy which Col. Hamilton had obtained in the administration. He retired when Gen. Washington did, but had not been long reposing in the quiet of domestic life when, aroused by the danger into which the principles of administration pursued by Mr. Adams were evidently bringing our republican institutions, sensible that the torrent could no longer be resisted in Congress, and that the state legislatures could alone arrest its course, he again took his stand in the legislature of Virginia, and there prepared and carried through his celebrated report against the alien and sedition laws. This, we may affirm

without danger of contradiction, to have given to federalism its first mortal blow, and to have first planted the standard to which the republicanism of the nation so rapidly rallied. With Mr. Jefferson he came into the present administration.

Mr. Madison has been in public life for thirty-two years. He is about fifty-five years of age. During his whole life it is believed there is not a single act for which he can be reproached as a man or as a citizen. He is a singular instance of a person who has been so much the object of envy to some, and so much in the way of the views and interests of others, escaping the imputation of having done an improper act from an improper motive.

It is believed Mr. Madison has not at this time, and that he never had a personal enemy, for a cause that could be avowed.

MILITARY SKETCHES.—Pursuing the thread of incidents in which general Wilkinson bore a conspicuous part, down to the capture of Burgoyne and his army, we shall develop several impressive facts hitherto unknown, which may serve to rescue the historic page from the gross delusions which popular bias, personal sympathy, and the interests of individuals have heretofore imposed on the public, in regard to the scenes of that interesting campaign, and the merits of the distinguished actors who mingled in its perils.

Morgan's rifle corps, consisting of about 600 men, had been detached by general Washington from the army of his immediate command, to succor and reanimate our discouraged ranks in the Northern Department. He arrived with his command in August, and joined the army under general

Gates on Vanschaik's Island, at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson rivers.

On examining the strength of this corps and the service to which it was destined, (as the *Elite* of the army) the defect of force was manifest; and the combination of the bayonet with the carbine was deemed essential to the efficiency of a detachment, to whose vigilance, exertion and efforts, the safety of the army was in some measure confided. Accordingly two hundred and fifty rosy-cheeked Yankees, in the prime of youth, with a choice selection of officers, were drawn from the line, mustered, and assigned to the command of that tried, approved and meritorious soldier major Dearborn, (now secretary of war) who immediately joined and was incorporated with Morgan's command.

General Gates had under him for major-generals, Lincoln and Arnold; the former on his right, the latter on his left. The amiable disposition and patriot soul of Lincoln, would have insured harmony in any co-operation for the public good even with an object of his contempt, but he respected and esteemed Gates. Arnold too was a favourite with the commander in chief, and for some time participated his confidence; but he had been a projector of ardent temperament from the cradle, rather desperately courageous than coolly brave: Burning with ardour and impatient for action, the cautious circumspection of Gates illly accorded with the passions of an inflamed partizan: First a coolness ensued, then murmurs were whispered through the camp; the embers of discontent began to glow, an act of usurpation blew them into a flame, and an open rupture took place about the 6th or 8th of September.

The *Elite* under Morgan in the position of Behmus' Heights, took ground in front of the centre, and reported through Arnold as a portion of his division, who it was discovered on inquiry had issued an order to that effect. But as his command was limited specifically to the left wing of the army, the extension of his authority over a corps which did not belong to that wing, and which by every rule of duty and of service, as well as every motive of utility and effect, must be held responsible to the general only, could not be justified either by principle, precedent or analogy: He was advised of the impropriety in terms of delicacy, and a general order issued for defining the duties and responsibility of the advanced corps.

Fired by what he esteemed an incroachment on his rights, Arnold repaired to head quarters in heat, and with warmth remonstrated to the general against the withdrawal of Morgan from his command. His pretensions were flouted, a downright quarrel ensued, and Arnold demanded leave of absence to visit Congress; which was instantly granted, and a letter furnished him. His command of course ceased: But he continued to occupy his quarters, and availing himself of the attachment of some, and the respect of other officers, he kept up the appearance of command, professing, day after day, his determination to retire from the army.

Arnold, yielding his judgment to his passions, had built every thing on his own popularity and fame, without reflecting on Gates's great ascendant with the eastern states at that period. His vanity did not permit him to weigh the inequality of their standing; and he had not reflected on the certain odium which would follow his retreat from the army, when an engagement was daily look-

ed for: He discovered his error, but failed of magnanimity to correct it; and yet dared not pursue his purpose. Irresolute, and suspended between pride and policy; he wasted the time in preparations for his journey until the memorable 19th of September, and the still more memorable, though less sanguinary 7th of October, when he usurped command, committed several excesses on the field of battle, which bespoke the madman or drunkard, and at length fell, badly wounded, at a point of the action and in a manner, which should not have conferred honor upon him.

On the 23d inst. notice was issued from the Department of State, to merchants and others wishing to forward letters to Europe, that a vessel under the orders of the government will sail from N. York on the 10th day of February, or as soon thereafter as possible, which will deliver at l'Orient and Falmouth, all such letters as may be respectively consigned to those ports, or to other places through the same. The postage on the letters must be paid to N. York.

DIED, in this city, about four o'clock on the morning of Thursday last, of a pulmonary affection, the Hon. EZRA DARBY, a member of the House of Representatives from the state of New-Jersey, in the 40th year of his age. The customary marks of respect were paid to his memory by the legislative body, and his remains were yesterday consigned to the grave, attended to the burial place by the gentlemen of both houses of Congress and a number of respectable citizens.

Persons subscribing to the WEEKLY REGISTER, can be supplied from the commencement.